2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2



61 enterprising son of some important family to strike out for himself with his herds, his dependents and other bold or dissatisfied individuals who wished to follow him. This seceding group came in the course of time to consider itself a separate and independent uru, known by the name of its founder although still tracing its descent from the parent group. In the beginning relations between such senior and junior groups might have been very close but eventually the self interests of the two groups, and particularly the conflicting ambitions of rival leaders outweighed any claims of kinship.

It now becomes apparent that the term uru may be considered from two points of view: first in a functional sense as applied to one group fairly closely related, living together as an economic and political unit under their own leader; the second, in a purely genealogical sense as applied to any number of groups claiming descent from a common ancestor however remote. Thus in the latter usage of the word all the groups in the D-stratum of our diagram, namely Capek, Davlet, Bajtelb and Qavmen may be considered as one uru by reason of their common descent from Esqoça in contrast to some other group of D-stratum uru descended, for example, from Ekej. Or again all the many independent and frequently hostile groups claiming descent from Abaq can be regarded as one uru in contrast to any group descended from Taraq. But in the sense of functioning economic or political units all the uru of every stratum were separate, equal, and independent groups.

The error of regarding a number of D-stratum uru, for example, as merely branches or subdivisions of the parental C-stratum uru is illustrated in the use of the urans. These were the war cries of uru groups in battle, used also to encourage the champions representing them in horse races and games. If members of the D-stratum uru Capek, Davlet, Bajtelb and Qavmen were at the same time considered members of Esqoça from which they had branched off, they should be entitled to use the Esqoça uran. But this very definitely was not the case. Kargabaiev not only would never think of using the Esqoça uran but could not think of himself as in any way entitled to so do. A member of Davlet definitely did not regard himself as also a member of Esqoça. He only traced his descent from that group. His ability and privilege to do so, however, were of considerable importance. A knowledge of the place of one's own group in the genealogical structure of the whole orda was essential when meeting strangers or for the proper observance of seniority at various social occasions.
[576] When meeting anyone the first question was always "What is your uru?" and in reply one gave the name of the last and smallest subdivision which one thought would be familiar to the questioner. If it were unknown to him it would indicate that he was probably from a rather distant group and one would try again with the name of a more inclusive group of a higher stratum. If the encounter was with one of a fairly close group familiar with the name of the immediate uru it would be necessary only to give the names of one's immediate ancestors.

574 Hospitality was, to some extent at least, regulated by the seniority of the groups; thus
61 at feasts and general gatherings representatives of several groups who were present were

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 21-22 -- Analysis]

2: Hudson 8-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2



allotted places of honor according to the seniority of the guest's uru.[22] According to Grodekov also a guest was treated well or ill according to his knowledge of the tribal gradations.[23] This perhaps may be related to the fact which he mentions elsewhere[24] that it was only the upper classes who knew the ramifications of the numerous groups while the knowledge of the common people was restricted to the genealogies of their immediate ancestors. From this it would follow that a guest well versed in genealogy was of the upper class and entitled to respect.

Grodekov also states[25] that there was an order of precedence running through all three ordas with the youngest uru of the Great Orda having seniority over the senior uru of the Middle Orda and so down to the last group of the Little Orda. This was vigorously denied by my informants, who said that the Great Orda possibly may have thought so but certainly no one else did. Kuftin[26] also speaks of the principle of seniority running through the ordas but his wording reads almost like a paraphrase of Grodekov from whom he may have taken the statement. Tlenshiev said there may have been such a system of precedence but it would be based not on seniority but on strength and importance at any given time because no one knew which of the ordas was supposed to be the oldest.

One may summarize the basis of Kazak social structure by saying that it consisted of a large number of separate groups each claiming descent from it's founder and bearing his name. These groups considered themselves as related to, but independent of, other groups from which their ancestor had come.

The nature of these groups can best be clarified by considering their functional aspects which I shall first do in relation to economic life.

[22] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 7-8.
[23] *Idem*, 27.
[24] *Idem*, 12.
[25] *Idem*, 7-8.
[26] Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 9.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2



61 various local groups. Transients of course were numerous. Levshin[7] mentions that in some
621 places a fiancé who had paid the first part of the kalym might pitch his kibitka in the camp of his betrothed and live there until the transaction had been completed and he was able to take her home. Since the payments might sometimes be extended over a period of several years the prospective bridegroom perhaps became a fixture about the camp.

In addition there were large numbers of itinerant visitors, travelers, merchants, and wandering mullahs. Beggars formed a large group to whom it was considered meritorious to make gifts.[8]

All these alien elements went far to increase the complexity of social groupings and to obscure the sharp demarcation between uru groups.

## HOSPITALITY

609 The custom of hospitality (qonaqaçь) to strangers may be noted in its connection with
574 inter-group relations.

In principle any passing traveler was entitled to stop at any man's kibitka and remain indefinitely. One of my informants said: "He doesn't have to pay and can stay as long as he likes; the owner of the house will never tell him to go." The host was responsible for the welfare of his guest and might be obliged to pay damages equivalent to those for murder for any stranger who succumbed to starvation or exhaustion even in the vicinity of the camp.[9]

Apparently such open hospitality was liable to prove a burden because Grodekov remarks[10] that the Kazak always avoided camping near roads or frequented routes in order to obviate a deluge of ravenous guests and "if it is necessary to camp near a road they conceal themselves behind a hill."

In addition to thus escaping the responsibilities of hospitality, the custom was in practice considerably limited by two factors.

Although in theory anyone, even an enemy, was entitled to hospitality, my informants said that such an instance would never arise. One usually stopped only at places where one had some expectation of finding a welcome.

574 A more important limitation was that in practice hospitality was restricted to members
565 of one's own class. The rich entertained the rich and the poor sought shelter with the poor. The poor man would probably not be turned away from the rich man's door but where the duties of hospitality were ceremonially observed for an important guest by cutting the throat of a sheep, which was afterwards eaten, a humble visitor would receive only milk or tea. The gauging of hospitality by the importance of the guest is mentioned

[7] *Déscription des hordes*, 360.
[8] See also Levshin, *op. cit.*, 344; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 222–23.
[9] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 217–18.
[10] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 110.

2: Hudson E-4, 8 (1936) 1938 BQS Kazak BQS



also by Grodekov[13] and Dingelstedt,[14] who say that a visitor is treated well or ill according to the importance of his "tribe" and the number of his ancestors. Zaleskie[15] also suggests that it was chiefly the rich who kept open house.

It may be noted here that qonsopsb (hospitality) was also the term applied to social gatherings to celebrate circumcisions, weddings and funerals.

## FRATERNIZATION

A form of fraternization or sworn brotherhood might exist between two particular individuals, usually of different but not too distantly related uru groups. They swore solemnly on the Koran, or embraced one another over the blade of a sword or with a dagger at the throat of each, taking oath that they would be friends (tamɪr or dos) to one another for a specified time or for life. This relationship seems to have involved mainly an obligation of reciprocal hospitality and a certain sharing of one another's property. My informants were vague on the subject.

Grodekov[16] indicates that the relationship had a decidedly commercial quality with strong emphasis on an exact balancing of accounts. He writes:

> They swear to be tamyr or dos to one another and grant a gift. Receiving a gift obliges one to give an equal gift in return. Tamyr come by turns to one another and make a choice of cattle and goods and the chosen objects must be given without a refusal. In former times it was not customary to complain at the non-receipt of an equivalent gift in return; but now the bii computes the money value of the gifts on both sides and forces them to pay the difference. Said one bii, "Satisfy the wishes of this tamyr and afterwards you can go to visit him and he must satisfy your desire." According to Torgai [one of Grodekov's informants], in dos one may take things without asking while in tamyr it is customary to ask. Another bii said that in dos they swear before god not to bring lawsuits about the value of the presents.

The children of individuals who were tamɪr and dos to one another might continue the relationship. It was also possible for women to be tamɪr to one another and the relationship might exist between those of opposite sex.[17]

A somewhat similar form of fraternization, though apparently without the overt mercenary aspects of the tamɪr and dos relationships, existed in Mongol culture.[18]

[13] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 27.
[14] *Le Droit coutumier*, 147.
[15] *La Vie des steppes*, 13.
[16] *Op. cit.*, 40–41.
[17] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 40–41; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 219–20.
[18] See pages 82–83.

4:Grodekov--90 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2 574

After giving birth for the first time, the woman visits the home of her father (turkundeydi), where she receives gifts, which are not obligatory however. If she does not visit him after the first birth, then she visits him after later ones, but only once altogether.

Circumcision takes place between the age of 1 and 12. It is 852 done by a mullah or a khodja. The circumcision is paid for according to the payer's means, but the payment is obligatory.(1)

1. Concerning upbringing among the Kazakhs, see the article by Ish-Mukhammed Bukin, "Fizicheskoe i umstvennoe vospitanie u Kiegizov" /The physical and mental upbringing among the Kazakhs/, Turkestanskie Vedomosti, 1883, No. 17.

At the celebration of the circumcision (bala kistermek) the rich people slaughter /100/ sheep and arrange a race for which they give kukbure.(1) The celebration lasts three days. Both invited

1. Here kukbure is used in the sense of the kid itself.

and uninvited guests appear at it, and both are required to bring sheep, money and things with them.

A good wife, even when she is a bride, should not call her 576 husband's relatives (kain) by name, out of decency, nor the entire 561 lineage up to that circle of kinship within which marriages are permitted. She must call them by their appellative names, for example, father-in-law (ata), master (mirza), etc. A less modest woman calls them by their names, but only when alone with them. It is also indecorous, although not so reprehensible, to mention the names of the husband's relatives in talking. There is an anecdote (according to Torgai and also in Budagov) according to which an elder wished to test the inventiveness of the women in descriptive expressions and gave his sons the names of the most commonplace objects: Rushes, Water, Wolf, Sheep, Knife, Grindstone. Once a wolf stole a sheep between the water and the rushes, and the bride cried: "Bride's father! Bride's father! Beside the babbling, in front of the stakes supporting the plants, the howler is eating the bleater. Bring that with which there is tinder around the point" (ata! ata! saldyramanyng aryyagynda, sildiramanyng bere yagynda mangramany uul' ma eh yatyr yanymany bilemege bileb bileb alyb kele koyyngyz).

The custom described exists among all Kazakhs and has not completely disappeared still among the Challa Kazakhs, i.e., the

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293 disputants are the same age, the seniority of the clan or the lineage is taken into consideration.

[423] Among the Kirgiz, no one can occupy a summer camp where a certain clan has nomadized for a long time. It is possible to say: "I have no summer camp. Permit me to be your neighbor" (kongsylash). But nothing can be done in case of refusal, for what right can be had to a strange summer camp? (brauning yailauinda nese bar).

If one clan enters the pastures of another, representatives of the latter receive kurabashi from the former, i. e., one sheep from each herd. (1)

1. Kura - a herd up to 600 heads.

[416] If a village migrates to a locality near which another village is already camped, and the livestock of the former should worry or kill some animal belonging to the village which migrated to this locality first, the former group must pay the injured party for everything he has lost. But if the livestock of the village which arrived first worries or kills an animal belonging to a village which migrated there later, the latter receives no remuneration at all.

591 /112/ The ancient custom of the gratuitous giving of food (kunakasy beru) to a guest (1) and his horse, and a place to sleep is

1. Calling the guest "of God" (khuday kunak) is probably a transposition of the Sart proverb: "A guest is a gift of God" (mikhman atai khuda).

based 1) on community of property, for the Kazakhs call this kunakasy the unalotted property of Alasha (Alashtyng uleismegen inchisi), (2) and

2. Although according to the sense of this saying, non-Kazakhs do not have a right to kunakasy, they too are not refused.

2) on the fear that if the guest dies of hunger wergeld will be demanded for him.

Tradition attributes the establishment of kunakasy to the Kazakh clan founder Alasha. In his old age Alasha kept a part of his livestock for himself and divided the remainder of the livestock among his three sons, from whom the three hordes existing today are descended. He called the share of the property received by each of them inchi, i. e., the imprescriptible and inviolable property of each of them. "But," he added, "under the conditions of your nomadic life, because of your kinds of occupations, in

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herding and because of your estrangement from sedentary life with its commerce and bazaars where every traveler, no matter where he comes from, can find shelter and means of life for pay, it will be difficult for you, especially when your descendants are multiplying, to travel from one to another with your own food supplies. You do not carry your own sheep with you on a day's journey, much less carrying a beast on a long journey, especially with your manner of riding a-stride. And therefore here is ny eternal testament to you. Do not take pay for food on your mutual visits to each other. Always be with each other like invited guests. In this way you should have the right of kunakasy or shelter and food as a gift without pay each from the the other. Take one quarter of the property remaining with me for this, and consider this no longer as hour own property but as common property and as an inchi which is never divided among you until the end of eternity." May it be so. We will not forget your /113/ testament was the humble answer of the children of the noble Alasha, founder of the clan.

According to the report of bii Mikebai (of the Perovsk uyezd) the master of a tent pays wergeld for a guest who dies of hunger, and for his horse which dies of hunger, he pays another horse. This does not happen now (according to Kunakbai, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd). At least in the year of the rabbit, many died of hunger, but there were no suits for not having given kunakasy. Among the Kirgiz they also do not pay wergeld and do not pay for a horse which has died of hunger.

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When they hear of the coming of a guest, those closest to the tent bring their mite on their own initiative for the kunakasy. Urban Kazakhs (of Auliye-Ata and Tashkent) give their guests only shelter, and for food the guests go to the bazaar themselves. The Kirgiz leave the welcome guest alone with the feast. It is the business of the guest to invite the host in or to give him the leftovers (sarkyt)

The attitude of the Kazakhs to hospitality is indicated by the proverb: "If a guest stops once, this is happiness, if he stops twice it is misfortune." (kunak br konsa kutteki konsa dzhut).

The host only answers for the safety of the guest and the protection of his property if they are not at war, or in a feud or in personal enmity. Nevertheless there are cases (according to Torgai) where a plaintiff appears in his adversary's tent, and people there exhort the master of the tent to forgive the offense, since they say, the appearance in the tent is a sign of submission and honor is now satisfied (aldynga kel'geni namusyngnyng bitkeni). They advise him to forgive the adversary, recalling the proverb: "If someone comes in to you, forgive him even the wergeld for your father" (aldynga kelgende

574 atangnyng khuny kitse de kish).

576 For insulting a guest a complaint is made on a general basis, although it is advised to argue with him, and not to offend him (azar bermek) in accordance with the proverb: "When they come into your tent, do not speak forth your claim, even though it be as big as the tent" (uinge kelgende uydey dauyng bulsa da aytpa). To call a guest or a person hiding from the pursuit of evildoers a thief or a criminal for no reason, and to take him /114/ to the authorities is not reprehensible if the guest is not a close kinsman. The right of sanctuary is known (1) to the Kazakhs and Kirgiz. A thief and someone accused of thievery is not accepted as a guest and is handed over to the person who demands his delivery. If (according to Abdrakhman) a man who is pursued by an enemy asks protection in some tent, and his enemy enters the tent, then both are driven out and left to cut each other up in the steppe. However, this depends on the personal qualities of the master of the tent.

1. Levshin states the same, Part III, p. 82.

The responsibility of the host for anything stolen from the guest is now more in vogue than it was previously.

When a newcomer, known or unknown, stops before the setting of the sun at some tent, the master of the tent either slaughters a sheep for his regalement or makes amends to the guest with kind and welcoming words. If the guest considers the latter short shrift and he himself slaughters a sheep from the herd of the owner of the tent, the guest will be judged as in the right and the host guilty. (Report of bii Shanchi Chinybekov of the Auliye-Ata uyezd).

[422] 612 The community of property of the Kazakhs is founded on the clan principle. The closer the circle of kinship, the more the members of it use each other's property without control. Children take from their parents what they need or what is pleasing to them. Thievery in the circle of the family is only called "taking away secretly" (yasyryb algan). Nephews on the wife's side (dzhien) always steal from their uncles (taga), according to the saying. The brother-in-law (the sister's husband - yezna) and the uncle, in accordance with their powers, add (kosady) their share to the kalym. Mutual suits among matchmakers are examined by the biis very unwillingly. They are reconciled directly on the basis of kinship (biis' books of the Perovsk uyezd). Male first cousins on the father's side (nemere) support each other by livestock without incurring a debt, by the ad-

[189 cont.]
our border by Kazaks of the Little Horde. Such were the first proofs of the [190] protection of our trade in Asia promised by Khan Abulkhair.

A second proof of the impotence of the princes, or rather the Kazak chiefs, was seen in 1740 when Karasakal, chief of the Bashkir rebels, fled beyond the Yaik with his accomplices. The Khan and the sultans absolutely refused to arrest these deserters.

All these circumstances, and particularly the pillage of the caravans, caused Abulkhair to be embarrassed about appearing in Orenburg in 1740 for a meeting with Prince Urusov, and he sent excuses that he was ill and too far away.

To these two reasons, which he gave openly, a third must be added, which was secret. He knew that at this time Abul Mahmet, new khan of the Middle Horde, was expected in Orenburg. This man was his enemy and one over whom he had pre-eminence, *and he was afraid of seeing the other treated as his equal. But* in order to avoid reproaches and dispel suspicions, he sent the Sultans Nurali and Erali, his sons, to Prince Urusov.

On this occasion they were received with all the honors which had been shown their father two years before. The Kazaks who accompanied them were also treated with special regard. Seventy-five elders dined at the table of the chief [Prince Urusov?], and food and beer were distributed to the persons of their suite outdoors.

Although Sultan Nurali was at that time a grown-up man, yet his father had given him as a preceptor during his trip to Russia a man, Batyr Djanibek, who was universally esteemed among the Kazaks and known for his wit. He was received in Orenburg practically as an equal of the sultans, and with them received rich gifts at the first meeting in the name of the Russian government.

The first visit of the Khan's sons to Prince Urusov was only a ceremonial visit and an exchange of pleasantries. At the second meeting the affairs of the horde were discussed. [191] They explained that the first caravan sent by Tatishchev was pillaged by the Great Horde, over which they had not the slightest influence.

[191 cont.]
Later, in imitation of their father, they undertook to satisfy demands which were beyond their power to fulfill. These were: to make restitution of all the merchandise taken from the caravans which were robbed near Orenburg and to surrender all the Russian prisoners who were among the hordes. Finally, they announced that their father requested a certain number of cannon for the war against the Khivans, and also that a city be built on the Syr /Darya River/, after having drawn a preliminary plan of the site for which it was destined. As a result of this request, Prince Urusov sent the geodetic specialist, Muravin, and the engineer, Nazimov, along the Syr and from there to Khiva, and they, after having made the first map of the part of the steppes of the Kazaks and the lands of Khiva that they had seen, returned to Russia a year after their return from this mission. The artillery was absolutely refused to Abulkhair on the pretext that there was very little in the forts built along the Ural.

Nurali and his brother Erali had not yet left when Abul Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde, who had long been awaited, was seen to arrive in Orenburg with the Sultan Ablai, accompanied by a large number of tribal chiefs, elders, and common people. At the time of their visit to Prince Urusov, they were received with the same honors as were shown to Abulkhair. However when they entered the tent, instead of delivering an address, each presented a letter whose content had the same sense as Abulkhair's speech, and for that reason we have not believed it appropriate to transcribe these letters here.

After the letters had been read to him by an interpreter, Prince Urusov responded with flattering remarks and promised them, in the name of Her Imperial Majesty, her good graces, assistance, and protection should they show themselves to be faithful subjects. Then he proposed to the Khan as well [192] as to the Sultan and the Kazaks of their suite that they swear the oath. Abul Mahmet and Ablai at once complied with the request of the head of the expedition, knelt on a golden rug, took off their headgear and swore their loyalty according to their customs. Then they kissed the Koran, placed it on their heads, and placed

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of Ablai that they be returned, and sent an army to support their demand (1). The appearance of this army threw terror into the

1. See the reports of the interpreter Gordeev in the archives of the Border Commission in Orenburg.

Middle Horde. They not only undertook to satisfy the desires of the Chinese government, but a large number of Bashkirs, Barabin Tatars, and Russian prisoners were surrendered on the Russian border.

Nevertheless Russia owed the return of these prisoners less to the terror inspired by the Chinese armies than to the efforts and power of Ablai, who, although he was a subject of two empires, sought for political reasons to prevent his people from making raids into Russia. In addition, this border opposite the Middle Horde was always much more secure than the military line along the Ural River.

Let us return now to the Little Horde, whose khan, together with [242] his brothers, seemed more devoted to Russia than Sultan Ablai.

The Little Horde had not ceased to pillage the settlements along the borders from the beginning of spring until the middle of the summer, because the Volga Kalmuks had carried off much of its livestock during the preceding winter and because the guard along the Ural prevented the Little Horde from going along the Volga to recover its losses. Perhaps this first reason was joined by a second, which was less important but could also have influenced the conduct of the guard. During the autumn of 1759, Khan Nurali had come to Orenburg with his brothers, and the governor who had replaced Nepluev treated them with scant courtesy and, what was even worse, failed to make them any presents. This irritated them to such an extent that they did not wish to take leave of him, and they steadfastly refused to comply with any of his requests.

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000 life. by the way. they very rarely have to count to 10, 000.)
805 Time is reckoned as it was among the ancient Mongols (from whom the system was taken). The year begins in March, and there are /203/ 28 days in a month. Time is reckoned in periods consisting of 12 years, each of which has the name of a special animal. The first year is "tshkan" (species of mice), the second is "siir" (cow), the third is "bars" /panther/, the fourth is "koyan" (hare), the fifth is "lu" (naukoobraznoye /dragon/), the sixth is "dzhilan" (snake), the seventh is "dzhilny" (horse), the eighth is "koy" (sheep), the ninth is "meshn" (centipede), the tenth is "tauk" (chicken), the eleventh is "it"(dog), and the twelfth is "dongz" (pig). For example, 1902 is the year of the hare (from March on); 1903 is "lu," etc.

159 The way of life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ has influenced the development of his lively sociable character, in which one finds good humor, hospitality, compassion, and honesty. Laziness, carelessness, and an inclination for gossip and feasting should be mentioned among the weak sides of his character. These features created and maintain the entire modern way of life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. In the summer the Kirghiz /Kazak leads a completely animal life, eating, drinking, riding, and entertaining guests. Work related to the economy and care of the family rests on the wife. Only in winter does the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have to trouble himself with the economy

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Kirghiz /Kazak/ woman.

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221 (primarily with the well-being of the livestock), but even here
574 he finds time "to see his friends" /tamymichat'/, i.e., to ride from kstau to kstau (winter camp) to visit, eat a great deal, bring and listen to news.

181 The Kirghiz-Kazak are the most cultured people among the Turks wandering in Asia, and there is no doubt that a better future lies before them. Their number is increasing and they are showing themselves to be receptive to cultural advancements.

One may judge the comparative level of culture of the Kirghiz-Kazak in part by the character of their language, by the means and forms they have for expressing their thoughts, by the richness of the folk literature, and finally by the state of development of the arts.

114 Some Russian ethnologists (Patkanov, for example) relate
197 the Kirghiz-Kazak dialect to the eastern group of the Turkic language, while others (Radlov) relate it to the western group, and more precisely to a special form of it -- the Kirghiz (which
212 is spoken by all the Turks in our region). The Kirghiz /Kazak/
175 use the Arabic alphabet, which began to be spread among the
171 Turks of Central Asia in the 8th century along with Islam. Before this (from the 4th century) they had the Syrian alphabet (brought in by Christians of the Nestorian sect). The enigmatic runic writing discovered by archeologists in Eastern Siberia has also been shown to belong to the Turks and not to the ancient Slavs, Finns, Jews, or other peoples, as many thought. A variety of the Syrian alphabet is retained now only among the Mongols and Manchu, while the remaining Turks use the Arabic alphabet.

193 The Turkic language is one of the uninflected languages (having little development of grammatical relations between words). Its structure is based on the building of words, i.e., the grammatical relationship between words is expressed not by changing the original form of the word, but by adding suffixes (affixes) and insertions (infixes) to it. In this the link between the roots and these additions is so weak that all the

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533 the opposite impression. In general, it is predominantly drawn-
[594] out and mournful. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ value the ability to
sing and the "olengchi" (singers) live well, being invited as
honored guests to every family and community festival and given
534 generous gifts for the pleasure they provide. Usually the per-
formance of a song is accompanied by the playing of an instru-
ment. Instruments that are widespread are the domra -- a kind
of triangular balalaika with three strings (of sheep gut) -- and the

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At the fair in Temir. (From a photograph by A. N. Chagin.)

534 kobza /illustration appears here/ -- an oval balalaika with a prop
at the bottom (like a violoncello), which is played with a bow.
Of the wind instruments one can mention the zurna, which is a
long wooden horn.

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286 Pictorial art also exists among the Kirghiz /Kazak/, being ex-
pressed in the coloring of figures and designs on the doors of yurts,
vessels, saddles, etc., as well as in the weaving of various
patterned woolen articles. This art is still on a low level of
development.

128 We shall turn now to a more detailed description, first of
the interior and then of the exterior everyday life of the Kirghiz
/Kazak/.

/207 cont./

342 described, which are more convenient in certain cases. The kosh consists of three "kanat" (sections) of kerege. It has no chengarak, and the uka are consolidated at the upper ends. The kosh is used for traveling guests during the frequent journeys, and by shepherds with the herd. The dzholum-uy is a yurt for traveling and is distinguished by its smaller dimensions. It is [197] covered by only a tuurlyk and a tyunduk. These yurts have begun to come into use in the Russian armies which move about in the southern strip of the region, and they are known as "dzholomeyka."

The ablaycha consists only of uka driven into the ground, with a chengarak made firm at the upper end, and it is covered with one piece of felt. It is used mostly on long migrations and [175] journeys. The ablaycha originated in the time of the khan Ablai (18th century), whose army used such yurts. /Illustration appears here./ Among the ordinary yurts there are two types, the conical or Torgout type and the Kirghiz /Kazak/ cupola-shaped one. The former is rarely seen and is used in special cases.

342 554 352 353 Just as the peasant hut has a "beautiful corner" or honored place, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ yurt has a place, opposite the door, that is considered honorific and is arranged with chests and covered with rugs. The honored guest is seated here on a rug, [574] syrmak (embroidered felt) or blanket. The master's half of the tent is the part on the right, nearest the door, and is partitioned off with a screen made of chiy grass or a curtain. Food prod- [262] ucts, the kazan (a kettle on a tripod), a "saba" (sack made of smoked leather, "baursaki," cold meat, etc. are kept here. The bed, called "tyusek-oruk" (a low bed with pillows) stands along the wall. This is the master's place. Next to it is the chest, "kebezhe," with the best plates and dishes, tea, and sugar. The left side of the tent (near the entrance) is considered the back; a place is made here for the dog, the young ram, and the golden eagle. The poor beggars also sit here in the tents of the rich Kirghiz /Kazak/. A place is made on the left side also for the adult or married children. There is no furniture, except a low round table (in one corner) for eating.

/212 cont./

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Omsk Kirghiz /Kazak/. A Kirghiz /Kazak/ woman milking a mare. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

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252 Millet is the most widespread of the grain foods and is eaten either somewhat browned (and then eaten directly) or in the form of kasha. "Baursaki," an unleavened dough, is made with flour, cut into small pieces, and fried in sheep fat (it tastes like the Mardi-Gras nuts of the Russians). "Balamyk" is a watery dish made of flour, millet fried in fat and water, and cooked in the kazan. "Kaurdak" is pieces of roasted meat from various parts of an animal, of which the kidneys are considered especially tasty. As a sign of special attention and graciousness [574] to a guest, the host himself puts pieces of kaurdak into the guest's mouth (1). This is called eating "bish'-barman"

1. Apparently the Russian word "kavardak" /mishmash/ comes from this.

262 (five fingers). Kumiss, baursaki, and kaurdak make up the main food of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ and their favorite food, especially kumiss, which is at the same time considered just as sacred as bread is among the peasants. One can judge how much the
262 Kirghiz /Kazak/ love kumiss by the fact that there is retail
272 selling of kumiss, as of vodka among Russians (the so-called
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443

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000 character for only a small part of the population.

461 The Kirghiz /Kazak/ do not hire themselves out for work
464 that requires considerable effort in physical labor. Impoverished Kirghiz /Kazak/ (dzhetak /or djetak/), however, make up the main contingent of laborers in the metallurgical and agricultural undertakings of the region and are preferred to Russians, being cheaper and stronger workers.

574 The social life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is well developed, but it amounts to feasts, journeys, and entertainment. The various family events and celebrations are always accompanied by a feast for the entire village and even for the nearest villages, endless recounting of news, games among the young people, and songs of the "olengchi."

565 The social organization of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ can be
571 called democratic, since the ancient sultan clans (Valikhan,
[614] Ablai /or Ablay/, Bukey, and others) and the hadjis (the descendants of Mohammed) enjoy no special privileges, even though they are considered the secular and spiritual aristocracy. Their
567 influence on the people is considered insignificant. Slavery (a slave is called "kul") existed among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in earlier times (to the middle of the 19th century), being created by the political life of that time (the frequent internecine wars between tribes and wars with neighboring peoples -- the Bashkir, Kalmyk, etc.). Also, at the end of the 18th century slavery
[195] was legalized by the Russian government. In the fortresses of Yamyshev and Semipalatinsk slave trading existed for a long time from among the Kirghiz / Kazak/, and the Russians also acquired them as a labor force. The first attempt to limit slavery was made in 1822, with the formation of Kirghiz /Kazak/ okrugs. According to the law of that year all the slaves from among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ were to remain with their owners, but the acquisition of more was strictly forbidden. The situation of the slaves was hard, as it was for the peasants of Russian landowners. The owners disposed of their life and death, without bearing responsibility for it. A whole group of people, called Tiulengut /Tyulengut/ (usually impoverished Kirghiz /Kazak/),

/217 cont./
583 about the bride-money indicate that the groom's side pays it and
[556] the bride's side receives it. /ñ Among the rich it goes up to 300 head, while among the poor it can happen that they give only one cow.

585 The wedding is made up of the following elements: the agreement and the processions of the parents, the groom's visit to the bride, the journey of the bride to the groom, and the prayer of the mullah. All this is arranged with various ceremonies and especially with gifts. /Illustration appears here./

585 After an unofficial agreement has been reached, the father
574 of the groom, with his rich and most illustrious kinsmen, rides to the parents of the bride. The guests are taken care of by the female relatives of the bride, who serve and look after the new arrivals. The latter must "buy themselves off" with gifts or witty conversation. If this is not forthcoming, the guests are threatened not only with mockery, but also danger. The women forcibly dress such guests in women's clothing, bathe them fully clothed in water, shave their moustaches and beards, harness them to vehicles, tie them to turning wheels, etc. All this is done
585 in the sight of the whole village. The father of the bride
[262] regales those who are present with the tastiest dish -- "kuyryuk-baur" (the best parts of the horse, fat-tail sheep fat, and liver, all covered with a sauce made of sheep's cheese /kurt/, called "zuzduk"). To eat this dish means to tie the first bridal knot.

/218/ After this visit, the father and kinsmen of the bride ride to the groom's father for the receipt of the bride-money or
[574] most of it. The arrival is accompanied by a small feast. When they depart the groom sends "uletry" to the village of the bride, which is horsemeat or other meat as a gift to the women of the village.

After the agreement and the payment of the bride-money, the groom receives the right to visit the bride. These visits have an essential importance, being the beginning of the mar-
[583] riage. Thus, in case of the death of the groom or bride after

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2

/The Kazakhs/

S 563 K 685 One custom peculiar to the Kazakhs involves stealing. The Kazakh will steal only from someone who has been unfriendly toward him, and generally he will steal only animals, which cannot be well hidden. The idea behind the act is to show courage, and if the theft goes unnoticed, the thief feels proud of his cleverness. Once the theft is discovered, however, the thief willingly admits he has been outwitted, and submits to punishment. It is customary for the apprehended thief to repay nine times the property stolen; that is, if he has stolen one sheep, he must give its owner nine sheep.

S 563 K 574 The Kazakhs are noted for their hospitality. In theory, they must keep what amounts to open house for travelers, including enemies and strangers, and a guest may stay indefinitely without paying for food or lodging. It would be very bad form for a host to ask a guest to leave. Furthermore, the welfare of the guest is the responsibility of the tent owner. A traveler may claim damages if he has suffered from hunger or exhaustion in the vicinity of any camp ground.

Obviously such laws of hospitality impose a heavy burden upon the host, and for that reason the Kazakhs try to avoid camping near routes of travel. Some even conceal their tents behind the hills. In practice, the traditional hospitality is kept only by the wealthy, and then, "A visitor is treated well or ill according to the importance of his 'tribe' and the number of his ancestors." (Hudson 1938: 73.) That is, for a guest of importance the host would kill a sheep, whereas a poor visitor would be served only tea or milk.

K [556] [554]

S 563 K 608 Sworn brotherhood is a practice prevalent among the Kazakhs, a relationship which may be formed between two persons of different blood groups. A very solemn ceremony takes place when two persons take the oath of brotherhood. They may swear on the Koran, or "embrace one another over the blade of a sword or with a dagger at the throat of each other, taking oath that they would be friends to one another for a specific time or for life." (ibid.) Such brothers share each other's happiness or sorrow, and personal and family property. The offspring of the sworn brothers may continue this relationship. Women, too, may fraternize in this way, and it is said that the relationship may even be formed between two persons of the opposite sex.

S 563 K 576 264 574 [171] The Kazakhs practice the same etiquette as the New Uighurs, with a few noteworthy variations. At feasts, the animals to be eaten are always killed in the presence of the guests, to honor the guests and indicate that they are being offered the best. Another strict custom, observed by both men and women, is to wear a hat or cap at meals. If a guest has forgotten his hat, he is given a stick of straw to adorn his head. To eat bareheaded is an insult to the others present.

181 as he sees a possibility of success or gain. Vindictiveness also constitutes one of his motives, when he is not inclined to stealing. Most Kazakhs are very cold-blooded in appearance and in general try to seem to be men in
[158] control of their passions. Yet this is a mask for as soon as this false equilibrium is destroyed by something, they are seized by a terrible quick temper and fury sometimes leading to frenzy and raging which spares neither them-
[147] selves nor others. The Kazakhs have a remarkable ability to bear physical pain. Probably this is a consequence of their rough upbringing, which to a still greater degree makes them insensitive to the sufferings of others. In this connection the women form a praiseworthy exception, and in the past more than one unhappy /351/ prisoner was indebted to them for the easing of his fate, and sometimes even for his freedom.

461 As a result of their limited desires the Kazakhs are lazy. The Kazakh works hard only from extreme need, and when his stomach is full and his body clothed, then for the most part he prefers the eastern keif (delightful idleness) to any work.

203 Idleness and boredom have aroused curio-
574 sity in him. The Kazakh not only loves to listen to news, but along with this he has a great inclination to tell about things. Every smallest event or incident, no matter how trifling, gives him an excellent occasion to ride to the nearest aul and relate in great detail his khabar or news. It is self-evident that during this the Kazakh is not averse to adorning it a little. To know some interesting

8:Kostenko -40-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak KRQ
Sart RN4

K 203 574 khabar is exactly the same as having an invitation ready in one's pocket to a filling dinner in any aul. As soon as the newcomer says that there is khabar, he is regaled at once and he eats and relates it to his hosts. Then at once one of his hosts uses this opportunity to get something to eat in the next aul, and hurries off there with the news. This explains the unusual speed with which rumors spread in the steppe.

K 177 Upon contact with advanced nations, the Kazakhs adopt their superficial gloss and their habits for themselves with remarkable K [811] rapidity, but without losing their own nationality or being contemptuous of it. The sciences are quite accessible to them and they understand K especially easily an analytic type of exposition. [809] They do the Russians full justice, recognizing in them a moral and physical advantage. Thus they have the saying: Sary-kazak kara-kalmak, sary-urus kara-kazak, which means, the Kazakh is as much whiter or brighter than the Kalmyk as the Russian is more than the Kazakh. This proverb applies just as much to moral qualities. Thus the Kazakhs often come to Russian functionaries to be tried.

/352/ The Sarts

S 101 The origin of the Sarts. There is no Sart people. But the Russians have followed the nomads in using this name for the sedentary population of Turkestan, the people who live in the towns and villages and work in agriculture, the crafts and in trade. The people who have been given this name differ greatly both in language and in origin, but possess